1: Petrullo E-3 (1933-34) 1939 SS19 Yaruro SS19

men. A female ethnologist might get an interesting, and perhaps different, picture of Yaruro culture. I do know that there were many things, especially in the field of shamanism, from which I was shut off. The Yaruros saw this and the women relayed a pressing request that on my next visit to them I bring my "wife" (I have none!), with whom they could lie on the sands at night and tell things about their world similar to what their men told me.

My visit took place in the months of February, March, and April of 1934. Several species of intestinal parasites acquired in Brazil not only precluded my roaming about the countryside, but forced the Yaruros to attend me day and night for many weeks, giving ample opportunity—once it lasted for thirty-four consecutive hours—to talk. A sedentary life is so foreign to a nomadic people that this chance to corner them for "talk" was too good to miss. In fact, after a while it was becoming too much for them, and besides, hunting in the area became impractical. Everything considered, we reached a saturation point and I started on my way back. Many of these friends may be dead by now.

The Yaruros and Their Country

Yaruro daily life

Peaceful and mystical, the Yaruros, or Pumeh as they call themselves, wander up and down the Capanaparo and Sinaruco Rivers (fig. 15) gathering their daily dinner and thinking about the life awaiting them in the Land of Kuma when they leave this world.

As dawn breaks over the hills of Guiana we may discover a Yaruro camp on one of the sandy beaches of the Capanaparo River about a day's journey by canoe from where it flows into the Orinoco. It appears as a dark blotch on the wind-packed white sands at a distance of some 50 yards from the water's edge and more than that from the wall of vegetation which marks the bank of the river during the rainy season and hides the open savanna country beyond. The camp gives no sign of life until the sun shows clearly in the sky. Then we see that it consists of some leafy branches and 3-foot sticks bare of bark thrust in the sands, casting long shadows in the early morning to where the vultures are fighting among themselves at the refuse heap located to the west of the camp; or the white vulture, the "king," may be seen feasting alone while his black brethren await disconsolately on the side.

As the light becomes stronger we make out under the branches piles of debris, recumbent human forms, and mangy dogs tied to the sticks. The debris consists of baskets and pots, with here and there small

1: Petrullo E-3 (1933-34) 1939 SS19 Yaruro SS19

stop to talk, rest, and later sleep. Twenty-four hours of Yaruro life have gone by. The stomach must be considered again.

THE LLANOS

The country of the Yaruros is a low plain lying south and east of the Venezuelan Andean mountain spur between the fifth and sixth degree of North Parallel. On the east it is flanked by the Orinoco, with the hills of Guiana beyond the river, and on the south the plain rolls away to Colombia. This vast inland plain is burned by a tropical sun the year round and nowhere is there a degree of elevation to relieve one from the intense heat. Fortunately there is no barrier to the trade winds which often blow too hard for human comfort but which, nevertheless, make life bearable by cooling the body and blowing away insect life. During the dry season this plain is a veritable desert with scant vegetation except along the river banks and by water holes. In the rainy season it becomes a vast inland sea rich in animal and plant life. The temperatures during the day are always high. In the plains of Apure 130° F. have been recorded a few feet from the ground. In the middle of the day animal life is practically at a standstill. Cattle and horses which roam the plains half wild or completely so rest quietly. The cowboy withdraws to the shelter of a grass roof; the traveler retires to the shade of a bush, provided he can find one; but the Yaruro seeks the river banks where the winds are freshest and there is always the branch thrust in the sand to give him some shade. In midafternoon the winds abate somewhat, but rise again as the sun sets. There is another lull just before midnight, but in the early morning the wind blows a gale, driving the well-equipped traveler under his blankets and the Yaruros to the warmth of sand pits. Shelter from the wind means intolerable insect life. One must remain exposed to the ever-blowing wind to find any comfort.

It is said that a geologist prospecting unsuccessfully for oil ended his report with the statement, "The plains of Venezuela, or as they are known, the llanos, are rich—in water." He would have been more accurate had he said that the llanos are rich in winds, in dust and sand, insects, and, in the rainy season, flora and fauna.

The llanos would form a desert were it not for the rivers which, fed by the Andes, flow into the Orinoco. The largest of these are the Apure and the Meta. Between them flow the Capanaparo and the Sinaruco. Fishes are plentiful in these rivers. Along the banks are found an abundance of birds, among which ducks, cranes, and storks predominate. Smaller birds give color and song to the country. Near the Orinoco species of sandpipers crowd the sand bars. Hawks and vultures are a common sight.

2:Leeds E-5 (1958)1961 SS19 Yaruro SS19

YARURO INCIPIENT TROPICAL FOREST HORTICULTURE

Possibilities and Limits

Anthony LEEDS

The immediate concern of the papers in this symposium is the interaction between human populations and their habitats through the agency of horticulture insofar as factors in this interaction result in the evolution of culture. The present paper discusses an Incipient Tropical Forest Slash-and-Burn Horticultural group, the Yaruro of the south-central Venezuelan llanos, in order to show what kinds of upper limits were set upon its development by its technology and habitat, or both, and what sorts of factors within the relatively limiting conditions of incipient tropical forest horticulture might have provided a foundation for evolution to a more developed state. For any of the cultures which are examples of this class of horticulturalists, slash-and-burn horticulture plays a considerable, but usually not, by itself, a dominating role in the total food procurement process. The Yaruro fall between the Incipient and Intermediate Tropical Forest types discussed in the introduction, whereas the Siriono, for example, represent a culture near the lower limits of cultures of the type. Despite their somewhat more advanced condition, what pertains to the Yaruro, in a general way applies to the rest of the type.

We shall consider first the habitat conditions in which the Yaruro find themselves and then describe the major dimensions of their swidden horticultural technology. With these aspects of the total ecology before us we shall show how its characteristics provide us a model for our incipient tropical forest stage and at the same time demonstrate how its special ecological conditions inhibited its further evolution into the more advanced stages of horticulture.

The Venezuelan llanos stretch as a low inland plain from the Orinoco delta, W by WSW, 750-800 miles inland, to the edges of the Andes in the far west of Apure State and into Eastern Colombia. The Yaruro are found between 450 and 600 miles from the mouth of the Orinoco, but still inside Venezuelan frontiers. They are found on all the rivers from the Arauca to the Cinaruco, inclusive, a distance of about 90 miles from north to south.

[probably should read: which--Analyst]

102
311
131
361
22

2:Leeds E-5 (1958)1961 SS19 Yaruro SS19

(p.40)

MAP I- Winter Resource Areas

KEY

- SAND DUNES
- THICK MONTE SUITABLE FOR SWIDDENS
- SCRUBBY MONTE NOT FOR SWIDDENS
- GALLERY FORESTS
- GALLERY FORESTS FLOODED, NONARABLE
- THE PRESENT VILLAGE
- OLD OR UNUSED VILLAGE SITES (WINTER HOMES)
- Hunting
- Pigs
- Manioc field and female
- Fishing
- Water for drinking and bathing

Numerals represent numbers appearing in Table I

1 inch = ca 1.25 mi

Maps by Jo Leeds.

MAP II Summer Resource Areas

162
311
131
361
22

[p.41]

4: Leeds E-5 (1958) 1960 SS19 Yaruro SS19

Antropológica

SOCIEDAD DE CIENCIAS NATURALES LA SALLE
Ap. 681 — Caracas - Venezuela

Número 9 31 Enero 1960

[P. 1]

THE IDEOLOGY OF THE YARURO INDIANS IN RELATION TO SOCIO-ECONOMIC ORGANIZATION

Anthony LEEDS

121

It is the purpose of this paper to show the correspondence between the principles of socio-economic organization of the Yaruro Indians and their ideology and to isolate some dimensions of ideology which may be used for comparative purposes. It is hoped that by further isolation of such categories it will eventually become possible to compare the structure and content of widely different ideologies, as we today are able to compare kinship systems, so that we may be able to recognize synchronic regularities of a functional order and diachronic regularities of an evolutionary sort. Yaruro religious and philosophical beliefs are reduced to a series of postulates or axioms about the nature of the universe and man in an analysis somewhat like Kluckhohn's study of Navaho philosophy and Opler's of Apache themes. (1). No Yaruro would be able to express the axioms nor see them in the logical series as presented here, yet each would recognize them, when couched in the phrasings of his own language, as referring to his particular *Weltanschauung*. The postulates are derived from direct statements by informants about the cosmos or about human living, from other verbal materials such as discussions of disease and social organization, and, more occasionally, from observed behavior. The generalized titles introducing each of the summarized postulates appearing at the end of the paper comprise the dimensions, here inductively arrived at, which may serve for cross-cultural analysis.

101

The Yaruro Indians have been living in the savannas or llanos of Southern Venezuela for an unknown number of centuaries. They have developed a socio-economic life well-articulated to the geographical conditions of life. [131]

139
137

The gross geographical characteristics of the alternately desert-like and flood-covered llanos cause all the best economic resources to be concentrated

(1) Kluckhohn (1949); Opler (1945).

/109/

101 The Yaruro Indians, who among themselve call themselves by the term "pumę," live in the Venezuelan llanos, the tropical savannas that border the left bank of the Orinoco. They are fishermen, hunters, gatherers, and agriculturalists whose original culture has already greatly changed. All of their past 197 is not yet known. As to their dialect, it has not as yet been classified in any of the known South American linguistic families. 114 The observations that make up this article come from investigations made on the spot by the author between 1947 and 1950.

I. The Territory (see Map 1)[1]

● 131 a) Boundaries.

At the present time the territory populated by the Yaruro Indians lies approximately between 6.30 and 7.30 degrees north latitude and 67 and 69.30 degrees west longitude.

The bulk of the population, which was the subject of our investigations, lives along the banks of the Capanaparo and one of its tributaries, the Riecito, that is, on some 400 kilometers of river.

The rest are dispersed north of the Capanaparo, on the Arauca, the Cunaviche, and the neighboring rivers, and, to the south, on the banks of the Orinoco between the mouths of the Capanaparo and the Cinaruco and near the rivers located between the Capanaparo, the Riecito, and the Cinaruco.

b) Neighbors.

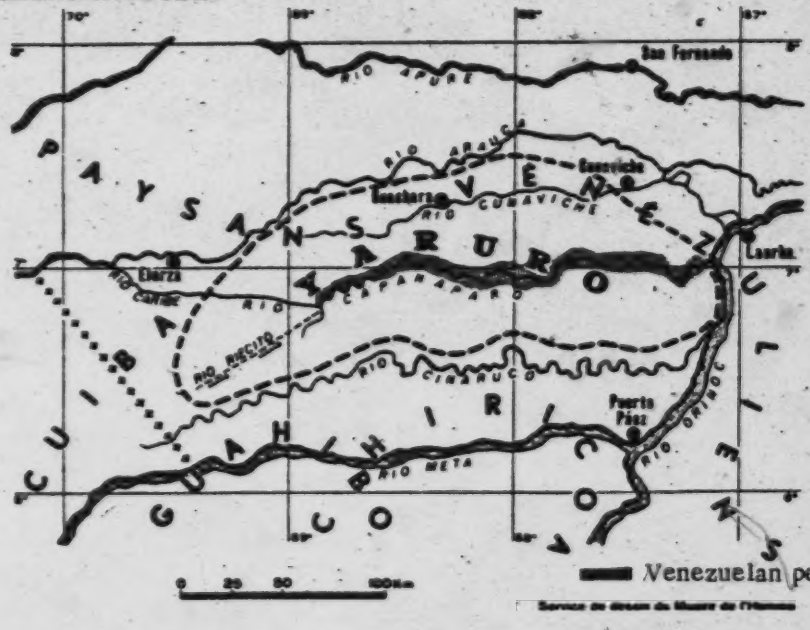
101 The whole region located north of the Capanaparo, the banks of the Orinoco, and part of the banks of the Capanaparo itself -- going upstream, the northern part up to the junction with the Riecito and the southern part on 220 kilometers up to the Madre Vieja Basiliero -- are populated by Venezuelan peasants, the llaneros, who thus occupy part of the Yaruro territory.

[1] [see p. 3. —Analyst]

5:Le Besnerais--3 E-5 (1947-1950) 1954 SS19 Yaruro SS19
Jirajara SS12
Guahibo SC14

/111 cont./

the territory mentioned above, in the west, and the second in the east along the Orinoco; they meet to the south of the Cinaruco, the northern limit of their territory which lies principally in Colombia. Like the Cuiba, they seem to trade with the Yaruro, exchanges taking place in the Yaruro villages located near the Cinaruco and consisting also of products of their making for manufactured ones.



Map 1

Correction: Elorza instead of Elurza.

7: Leeds E-4, 5 (1958) 1964 SS19 Yaruro SS19

[131] [101] 74

A B C D E F

Among the objects in the possesion of the El Gomal Yaruro (ca. 6° 42' N.; 67° 43' W.), about 70 miles west of the Orinoco River, Informants claimed to have dug them up during house-building. No objects of these kinds are made by the Yaruro today. *A*) Hollow ceramic bird-head object, open and broken at the top. *B*) Solid ceramic object, unidentified. *C*) Polished stone object, unidentified. *D*) Solid ceramic object with punctate design, apparently a conventionalized animal (frog or snake?) head. *E*) Highly polished black stone, unidentified, about 1.25 inches long, apparently broken at one end. *F*) Highly polished tan stone object (mano?), about 6 inches long. No stones of these kinds are to be found in the area.

[Facing p. 166]